



NBC WHITE PAPER #1
THE U-2 AFFAIR

NARRATOR: Chet Huntley

BROADCAST: Tuesday, November 29, 1960
10:00 - 11:00 P.M. EST

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Irving Gitlin
PRODUCER-DIRECTOR: Al Wasserman
WRITTEN BY: Al Wasserman, and
Arthur Barron
ASSOCIATE PRODUCER: Arthur Barron

Black

SOUND EFFECTS - Jet Engine

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

You are listening to the sound of a
jet. It is not an ordinary jet.

U-2 Takes off

SOUND EFFECTS UP

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

This is a U-2.

This is the incredible plane that pro-
jected our country into a crisis that
shook the world.

CU Powers
at trial

This is Francis Gary Powers, Pilot
of the one U-2 flight that failed.

TRIAL AUDIO:

Powers Confession.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Washington
Scenes

Whatever the fate of Powers, the U-2
was not so much the drama of an
individual...as of a nation, this
nation, and the manner in which we
reacted to a major and unprecedented
crisis.

GOLDWATER:

MS
Goldwater

How can you negotiate with murderers?
How can you negotiate with people who
have shot down numbers of our planes?
How can you negotiate with people who
tell lies and who do not fulfill their
solemn obligations? I don't think
you can gain anything by going to
the summit with these type of people.

BOWLES:

MS
Bowles

Major elements in our government have
been caught telling blatant false-
hoods to the world, to ourselves, to
each other, and to Congressional
committees. We have not told the
truth. We have taken grave risks on
the very eve of a great and important
international conference.

MAIN TITLES:

THEME:

1. NBC WHITE PAPER #1
2. THE U-2 AFFAIR
3. TIMEX BILLBOARD

ANNOUNCER:

Timex billboard

FADE OUT:

FADE IN:

STUDIO
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

Almost six months have passed since the day of the U-2 flight and the crisis it created. But a crisis should not be filed and forgotten in a nation's archives simply because it is in the past. Now that the passions and partisanship of an election year have subsided - and because we feel that the consequences of this crisis are still unfolding and the lessons to be learned are still significant - NBC News has decided to retell and re-examine the story of that fateful flight of May first and the events that flowed from it.

Dissolve to:

Exterior Lockheed
Taxiing Shot

If the story can properly be said to begin anywhere, it is with the superb airplane itself and the men who built it.

Second Taxi Shot,
Man Gesturing

This is a U-2, filmed by NBC with special permission at the place of its birth, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Burbank, California.

Interior Lockheed
Kelly Johnson

Here is the man who designed it,
Lockheed Vice President, Kelly Johnson.

JOHNSON:

Back in 1953 and 1954, we were studying ways and means of making fighter airplanes like the F 104 go higher and further than they did at that time. As we went further and further into these studies it soon became apparent that it would take an entirely new kind of aircraft to do the job that we wanted done.

JOHNSON (O.S.):

LS Plane

From this came the U-2.

MS Wing

We made a wing that had a very long span - over 80 feet. The wing had to carry the whole weight of the aircraft and still be very, very light. It had to be designed not only to hold a great amount of fuel, but it was designed so the wing tip acted as part of the landing gear.

CU Wingtip

Pogo

On the take off, we invented what we called the pogo landing gears. These stick into sockets in the wing, and rest on the ground and keep the airplane level on take off.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Pilot Pre Breathing If the design of the U-2 presented unusual problems, so too did flying it. The pilot of a U-2 must spend an hour-and-a-half before take-off relaxing and breathing pure oxygen in order to prepare himself for high altitude conditions.

CU Pilot His helmet is airtight and sealed to his body by a cork ring; he can, therefore, neither eat nor drink before... or during a flight. A long flight may keep the pilot sealed up for more than eight hours.

Exterior Lockheed
Pilot getting into
plane After such a voyage, he will emerge hungry and thirsty from his cramped cockpit, his skin chafed and raw from the tight fitting suit and helmet.

Closer Shot,
getting into
cockpit The plane he flies will range as high as 90,000 feet - 17 miles above the earth -- far above the operating ceiling of any other jet....and during the eight hours it can stay aloft, the U-2 will half fly, half glide for nearly four thousand miles.

Plane Taxis to
Runway

Take off

TAKE OFF EFFECT

HUNTLEY (O.S.) cont.

U-2 in Flight

It was evident from the start that the U-2 would be an invaluable airplane. It was--and is--employed by the Air Force and other agencies for high altitude scientific research. More recently, the Air Force has been using the planes to observe missiles in flight and to track missile nose cones on the way down. But, to the civilian Central Intelligence Agency, the U-2s ability to fly higher and farther than any interceptor aircraft made it a...

Dissolve to:

Stills

superb spy. With dark paint and a special reconnaissance equipment, the unmarked plane the Russians came to call the black lady of espionage systematically probed the borders and penetrated deep behind the iron curtain for nearly four years.

Tokyo Crash Sequence

A crash landing at a glider strip near Tokyo in 1959 provided the most dramatic breach in the secrecy surrounding

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

(CONTINUED):

the espionage activities of the U-2.
These pictures were made before the
area could be cordoned off by U.S.
security guards.

General Newspaper
Stills Over the years other hints of the
black ladies' secret missions came
to the surface...

"Mysterious Stranger" first in a British flight magazine...
"Mystery Crash" then in reports of a mysterious crash
that killed Lockheed test pilot
Robert Seiker....

Misc. Newspaper then in other newspapers and avia-
tion magazines...

Soviet Aviation including Russian ones. In 1958 and
59 the newspaper Soviet Aviation attack-
ed the espionage flights, the men be-
hind them, and the planes they flew.

Black Plane SILENCE

 Dissolve to:

Stock This is the pilot of the one U-2
Powers Trial reconnaissance flight that failed...
Francis Gary Powers.

TRIAL AUDIO

 This is his family.

POWERS' MOTHER
(Over Trial Footage
and on camera)

POWERS' MOTHER:

Ever since Francis was just a little boy he was interested in airplanes, and made model planes. And - a - always said he wanted to become a pilot. So he - after so long a time, he made a pilot.

Well, I wanted the boy to do what he thought best. Because it was his life. And - a - I was kind of scared, though, as I was afraid of planes - the dangers of them. Anything that goes up has to come down. So that's the reason I was kind of afraid for him - afraid he would crash, sometime, and maybe kill himself.

Dissolve to:

Stock
Incirlik Air Base
Turkey

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

trailer camp

In August, 1956, Francis Powers arrived at Incirlik Air Base, Turkey, an American installation on a flat, bleak, plain 10 miles from the town of Adana. It is a normal air force base....with one exception. Isolated in a trailer camp at its western end

Trailer Camp

HUNTLEY (O.S.)
(CONTINUED):

CU Trailer

Camp

Transport Takes Off

is the top secret 10-10 reconnaissance detachment, which conducted U-2 overflights. Francis Powers and his wife moved into trailer T 1356, where, in common with seven other civilian pilots and their families they lived in mystery and seclusion for nearly four years, aloof from the rest of the base. On Thursday, April 27, 1960, a transport plane flew Powers and other members of the 10-10 detachment from Incirlik....

Dissolve to:

Animation
Arrow Moves From
Incirlik to Peshawar

Pullback to larger
area to Show Powers'
Intended Flight Route

to the Pakistani Air Base at Peshawar. Then, when conditions were right, Powers would begin a thirty three hundred mile voyage across the Soviet Union, his equipment continuously monitoring its industry and defenses. If all went well, he would touch down at Bodo, Norway eight hours after take-off.

Dissolve to:

Globe Turning,
Day-Night Effect, Zoom
in Surface of Globe
Turning

And so, early on Sunday morning on the first of May, 1960, Francis Powers lifted off from Pakistan. Most of the

HUNTLEY (O.S.)
(CONTINUED):

ness and, as he crossed into Soviet territory, dawn was just breaking in Moscow.

Dissolve to:

Stock
Moscow
dawn scenes

In a few hours, the May Day parade was scheduled to begin - an annual display dedicated to the glorification of the Communist regime. Already the city was being prepared for the great event.

As Powers continued his flight, it was still the night of April 30th in the United States of America.

Dissolve to:

Night Scenes
Washington at Night
LS

In Washington, D.C., at midnight, it was time for the daily ritual....

Lights Go Off On
Capitol Dome

....of shutting down the city's landmarks.

Lights Go Off At
Lincoln Memorial

White House

At the White House, guards kept watch over an empty building. The President was away for the week-end at his Gettysburg farmhouse.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)
(CONTINUED):

State Department

At the State Department, a few lights were burning late. A summit conference - the first in five years - was scheduled to begin in Paris in two weeks, and there were preparations to make.

Dissolve to:

Night
Exterior Washington
Post

In one section of the city there was considerable activity.

Interior
WashingtonPost
Mailing Room Scenes

The Sunday papers had just come off the presses and were being readied for delivery. Whatever news was to occupy attention that morning was already frozen in type and bound in wire. And of all those who would soon be casually scanning the morning papers, in Washington....

Dissolve to:

Stock

Moscow Newspaper
Delivery Girls Coming
Out Of Building

...and in Moscow - no one was aware that a news story that would shake the world was being born in the wreckage of an American plane, down 1,200 miles inside the Soviet Union.

Muscovites Reading
Papers

THE U-2 AFFAIR
Approved For Release 2002/06/06 : CIA-RDP80B01676R004100180001-9

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

We'll continue with The U-2 Affair
after this message from Timex.

FADE OUT:

FADE IN:

First Commercial

FADE OUT:

FADE IN:

Studio
MCU, Huntley

The circumstances surrounding the
downing of the U-2' are still largely
a mystery. American intelligence
sources have communicated a version
of what happened to several reporters
....among them, Robert Hotz, editor
of the authoritative Aviation Week
magazine.

Hotz, Plugging in
Tape Recorder

He Turns to Camera

HOTZ:

Our government knew that Powers was
in trouble almost from the moment
that it first occurred. This is
because we have a rather extensive
network of monitoring Soviet communi-
cations, and they also have a similar
network with which they monitor ours.

HOTZ (CONTINUED):

This is an example of what we get from listening to the Russians. This incident took place about two years ago.

He Turns on
Tape Recorder

Sound: Russian Fighter Pilot Conversation

CU Recorder

HOTZ (O.S.)

The Russian fighter pilots are moving in to attack. Here is the official translation of their conversation at this point...

The target is a four engine transport ...roger. 201 - I am attacking the target...the target is burning...there is a hit...the target is banking...it is going toward the fence. Open fire. 218 - are you attacking? Yes, yes. The tail assembly is falling off the target. I will finish him off, boys. I will finish him off on the run. The target is falling...yes. Form up...go home.

HOTZ Turns Off
Tape Recorder

HOTZ:

During Powers' flight across Russia our monitoring system was functioning and gained a great deal of useful

information. From conversation of the Russian radar crews it was evident that Powers' flight was expected and it was tracked almost from the moment he crossed the Afghan border. From conversations of fighter pilots and air defense installations it was evident that they set up relays of supersonic fighters in an attempt to shoot him down. As Powers neared Sverdlovsk, he reported a flameout in his jet engine and began to descend to the altitude at which it was possible to start this engine in the air. The last communication with Powers was about 40,000 feet. When Powers came down in the Soviet Union, our government knew the following facts....the fact that the plane had come down in the area of Sverdlovsk....the fact that it had been forced down by a mechanical failure, not shot down by a rocket at 70,000 feet as the Soviets later claimed. What our government did not know was whether the pilot was still alive

HOTZ (CONTINUED):

and what the condition of the aircraft was when it hit the ground.

Dissolve to:

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Stills of Wrecked
Plane

Powers' plane had crashed in a field near the city of Sverdlovsk, some 900 miles east of Moscow. According to the Russians, the pilot had parachuted down and had been taken into custody by several local citizens. They described how they disarmed him, gave him a drink of water and a cigarette, and drove him to the local Rural Soviet, where he was turned over to security police.

Stock:
Russians Inspecting
Wreck

Powers Captors

Dissolve to:

Stock
Moscow May Day Footage

In Moscow, it was 8:53 A.M. at the time of the crash. The streets outside Red Square were already crowded with spectators waiting for the May Day parade to begin.

Kremlin leaders

As the Russian high command walked out of the Kremlin to take their places at the reviewing stand, they were probably still unaware of what had happened.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)
(CONTINUED):

Various shots
Parade and reviewing
stand

Among those in Red Square watching
the events of that morning was NBC
News correspondent, Joe Michaels.

MICHAELS (O.S.)

Exactly at 10 A.M., as always, the
May Day ceremony officially began.
The first part of the parade was the
military section. I watched the mobile
units going by to see if there was
anything new. There wasn't. Most of
the time, I kept my eye on the re-
viewing stand. From a reporter's
point of view this is the most like-
ly place to pick up anything of inter-
est. And at about 10:45 - three-
quarters of an hour after the parade
began - I did notice something most
unusual. An excited Marshal Vershinin,
the head of the Soviet Air Force,
arrived late. He entered at the rear
of the reviewing stand, went up to
Khrushchev, and whispered something
in his ear. Of course it's only a
guess, but I am inclined to believe
that this was the moment Khrushchev

MICHAELS (O.S.)
(CONTINUED):

found out that the U-2 was down.

Dissolve to:

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY

If the manner in which Khrushchev learned the news is open to speculation, so is the manner in which our own key officials learned. According to Powers' testimony, his destination was to have been....

Dissolve to:

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Stock
Shots of Bodo

...the NATO Air Base at Bodo, Norway a small fishing town at the edge of the Arctic Circle. The plane was due at 7 A.M., Washington time on May 1st. When it failed to arrive, this information must have been communicated to....

Dissolve to:

CIA Seal on Fence
CIA Building,
Through Barbed Wire
CIA Building,
Director's Parking
Sign in F.G.

the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington. In any event, by noon, five hours after the plane was due, it is known that word had already spread among a group of top Washington officials.

HUNTLEY (O.S.) cont'd

At C.I.A., under whose direction the overflights were conducted, Director Allen Dulles had been advised.

Pentagon

At the Pentagon, Defense Secretary Gates knew about it.

N.A.S.A. Building

At N.A.S.A. - the National Aeronautics and Space Administration - which operated the scientific weather flight program of the U-2s, Director Keith Glennan and Deputy Director Lawrence Dryden also knew.

State Department
Building

And at the Department of State, Under Secretary Douglas Dillor had been informed. What they did not know was that....

Dissolve to:

Night Shots of May
Day Festivities

...in Moscow, as the May Day festivities continued into the night, Francis Gary Powers, the pilot of the U-2 was alive and already confined in a cell somewhere behind the forbidding walls of Lubyanka prison.

Dissolve to:

LS Night
Washington

That same night of May 1, in Washington, our government began to take action. To tell us about it....

HUNTLEY (O.S.)
(CONTINUED):

Bourgholtzer.

NBC News State Dep't Correspondent,
Frank Bourgholtzer.

BOURGHOLTZER:

I've been told by persons whom I believe that there was a meeting not long after the word was received that the U-2 was missing. This was a meeting at a relatively low level of those persons who normally meet to discuss such intelligence problems.

At this meeting a rather routine decision was made to go ahead and put out a cover story; that is to say, a story that would cover for the record the fact that the plane was missing without revealing anything of its true mission.

Dissolve to:

Interior,
General Phillips

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

This is Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips, U.S. Army Retired, a former specialist in intelligence and military affairs analyst for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

PHILLIPS:

From an intelligence point of view, the original cover story seemed to be particularly inept. One gets the impression, and I believe it's a true one, that it had been in the files for a long time. And when the U-2 came down, it was just yanked out of the files and issued.

A cover story has certain requirements. It must be credible. It must be a story that can be maintained; and it should not have too much detail. Anything that's missing in a cover story can be taken care of by saying the matter is being investigated.

The most striking thing was the failure to consider, in the cover story issued, the possibility that the pilot might be alive and the airplane might be intact.

Dissolve to:

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

As the events of the week of May first were to demonstrate, the story that was issued to "cover" the disappearance of

HUNTLEY (CONTINUED):

the U-2 failed to serve its purpose.
This failure was not immediately
apparent.

The days following May first were quiet
ones, and the cover story first began
to come to the surface on Tuesday,
May third, in Istanbul, Turkey.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Dissolve to:
Stock
Turkish Riots

On May third, Istanbul was a city under
martial law, the atmosphere heavy with
tension. Turkish students were riot-
ing in protest over the stern police
policies of Premier Menderes and his
ruling party. Although the government
was still in control, it's downfall
was only a few weeks off.

NATO Meeting

MLS Herter

At the Municipal Palace in Istanbul,
troops stood guard while, inside, a
meeting of the NATO countries was
taking place. Attending, was Secre-
tary of State Christian Herter and a
number of his top aides in the State
Department. Among those covering the
developments of the day was a Turkish
reporter.

Dissolve to:

MLS Goren in
apartment

GOREN:

I'm Zeyyat Goren, United Press International Bureau Manager for Turkey.

It was a Tuesday morning, May the third. I was writing a story on the NATO Council Meeting and the anti-Menderes demonstrations. A stringer

of mine called me. He said he heard a story about an American plane missing -- somewhere in eastern Turkey -- from Incirlik Air Base at Adana.

After I got the tip, I called Incirlik Air Base and talked to the information sergeant, who gave me the details of the story.

MCU Goren

The sergeant said the story is true. The plane is missing since two days. And the last they have heard from the pilot, he has trouble with his oxygen supplies somewhere over Van Lake area -- which, he added, is near to the Persian border. Of course, being a native of Turkey, I know Van Lake area is also near to the Russian border, which was the angle of my story - though I didn't know that day that this story will come such a big story.

Dissolve to:

Ticker

Sound Effects

BILL FOX:

Dissolve to:

UPI New York

I'm Bill Fox, day cable editor for United Press International in New York. I was on duty on May 3rd when we received a dispatch from Istanbul, Turkey about eight o'clock in the morning reporting that a U.S. Air Force plane, a U-2, was reported missing somewhere in the rugged mountains of eastern Turkey in the area of Lake Van, which is near the Soviet border. I have here the original dispatch which we received by radio teletype from London. Of course, at the time I didn't know what a U-2 was, nor did I realize that we had a piece of history by the tail. But, the fact that an American airplane was missing in the general area of the Soviet border, I felt was newsworthy. Consequently, I rewrote the story, adding some information that another American plane had been downed in the same

MCU Fox

Approved For Release 2002/06/06 : CIA-RDP80B01676R004100180001-9
THE U-2 AFFAIR

BILL FOX (CONTINUED):

	general area about a year previously.
	I checked it with the foreign editor
Story Being	and sent it to the News Desk. From there
Transmitted	it was put on our transcontinental A
	wire for simultaneous dispatch to all
Teletype Operator	UPI subscribers throughout North
	America.
Dissolve to:	The text of our story went like this:
Composing Room	A single engine U.S. Air Force plane
Washington Post	with one man aboard was missing today
	near the Soviet border in the rugged
	mountains of southeastern Turkey. The
Type Moves to Presses	plane was one of two that took off
	Sunday morning from Incirlik Air Base
	near Adana on a weather reconnaissance
Presses Rolling	mission. One plane returned but the
	pilot of the missing craft reported
	that his oxygen equipment was out of
	order. Three C-54 planes from Wheelus
	Air Force Base in Libya under the
	command of Major Harry E. Hayes of
	Clarksville, Texas were combing the
	area in search of the missing plane,
	but thus far without success.

HUNTLEY (O.S.):

MLS
Presses turning
tilt down to man
reading paper

The cover story appeared in print on the morning of May 4th. At the time, it was so unimportant that only a handful of papers across the country carried it - and only one, the Washington Post and Times Herald ran it on the front page...

CU
U-2 story
on page 1

...a small story that was eliminated in later editions to make room for a baseball headline.

Dissolve to:
Ext. Washington
Over shoulder of man
reading Washington
Post of May 4th.
PAN to street and
newsstand

In Washington, on Wednesday, May 4th, there was not much to be found in the way of news.

Dissolve to:
Ike and Republican
Congressmen

In the morning, the President had breakfast with a number of Republican Congressmen, then chatted with them on the steps of the White House.

Dissolve to:

Stock
Ike signing wheat
agreement

Later in the morning, he signed an important wheat agreement with India, and in the afternoon played a round of golf.

Dissolve to:
Stock
New York Tulip show,
Mayor Wagner cutting
ribbon; Cardinal Spell-
man standing by

In New York, Mayor Wagner presided at the opening of a tulip display. Spring was on its way.

Dissolve to: And in Paris, workmen were busy tidying
Stock up the Elysee Palace for a summit con-
Elysee Palace and ference that would never be held.
workmen

Parisian children All in all, it was a quiet day, May 4th
playing - the last such day the world would
know for some time to come

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

We'll continue with the U-2 Affair
after this message from TIMEX and Miss
Julia Mead.

FADE OUT:

FADE IN:

SECOND COMMERCIAL

FADE OUT:

FADE IN:

Stock
LS Mos cow

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Moscow, Thursday, May 5th. NBC News
Correspondent Joe Michaels again
reporting.

Dissolve to:

MICHAELS (O.S.):

Stock On Thursday morning, May 5th, I was
Meeting of Supreme present in the Hall of the great Kremlin
Soviet at which K Palace as the Supreme Soviet began its
announces plane shot three-day meeting. First on the agenda
down

was a speech by Premier Khrushchev.

At 10 a.m. Khrushchev began his three-and-a-half hour address. Most of it dealt with such matters as tax reform, wages, prices, currency change, and so forth. But towards the end, he suddenly introduced a new theme.

To a stunned and startled audience, Khrushchev announced that an American U-2 spy plane had been shot down in the Soviet Union. He did not specify where, and he did not indicate the fate of the pilot. He went on to warn those countries harboring United States bases that they were "playing with fire" and promised a stern protest to the United States and to the United Nations. But he added, "I do not doubt President Eisenhower's sincere desire for peace. Reason must guide us."

STUDIO
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

With Khrushchev's speech, the U-2 affair had become a full-blown crisis. The world was waiting for our government to respond, and respond we did - during a two-day period of chaos.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Dissolve to:

Bourgholtzer

...NBC News State Department Correspondent Frank Bourgholtzer...

Scherer

...and White House correspondent, Ray Scherer, were following the story as

He turns to camera

it developed.

SCHERER:

At the time the U-2 incident broke into the headlines, events were moving so rapidly and we were all so close to the story that none of us could really follow its ramifications. Now, with the passage of time, certain things have become clarified.

We know, for example, that following the National Security Council meeting on May 5th, the President called together a small group to discuss how to handle the situation. Two decisions emerged from this meeting; one, to continue with the cover story that had already been planted; and two, that any statement by this government on the situation would come only from the State Department. This latter decision was not implemented. In a recent discussion with Jim Hagerty, Frank Bourgholtzer and I questioned him about that.

SCHERER:

Hagerty interview

Now after you saw us on that Thursday morning and told us that the President had asked for a full investigation, you referred us to NASA and to the State Department for further information.

HAGERTY:

That is right.

SCHERER:

Now I went over from the White House to NASA upon hearing your word they would have a statement. They seemed to know nothing about it. They weren't prepared to make a statement. But they did make one later. Why was the time --

HAGERTY

Ray, I don't know. I can't answer that.

SCHERER:

Were you in on the framing of their statement?

HAGERTY:

No, I was not.

SCHERER:

Just to establish a further point, did the men at NASA, and did the men in the State Department involved in the cover

SCHERER:(Cont'd)

story know it was a cover story, or
were they simply agents?

HAGERTY:

That I cannot answer. I do not know.

Dissolve to:

Bourgholtzer

BOURGHOLTZER:

On the morning of May the fifth I was
at the State Department. We were
waiting with more than normal curiosity
for Link White's daily briefing. He
came out to see us at twelve forty-five
and he read the following statement:

Stock
White Statement
May 5

WHITE:

The Department has been informed by
N.A.S.A. that, as announced May three,
an unarmed plane - a U-2 weather re-
search plane based at Adana, Turkey,
piloted by a civilian, has been missing
since May one. During the flight of
this plane, the pilot reported diffi-
culty with his oxygen equipment. Mr.
Khrushchev has announced that a U.S.
plane has been shot down over the
U.S.S.R. on that date. It may be that
this was the missing plane. It is
entirely possible that having a failure

WHITE: (cont'd)

in the oxygen equipment, which could result in the pilot losing consciousness, the plane continued on automatic pilot for a considerable distance and accidentally violated Soviet airspace. The United States is taking this matter up with the Soviet Government, with particular reference to the fate of the pilot.

Bourgholtzer

BOURGHOLTZER:

Thinking back to the answers Link White gave to the many questions we later posed...it is perfectly clear that he had not been informed of any decision to make the State Department the sole spokesman about the U-2. When reporters pressed him for details...he volunteered the information that "infinitely more detail" was being given out at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Scherer

SCHERER:

At 12:15 on May 5th, as soon as the Hagerty News Conference was over, I followed his suggestion, ran from the White House across Lafayette Park to

Scherer

SCHERER: (cont'd)

NASA. I was the first reporter to arrive. I said I have come for the statement. And they said, "What statement?" I said, "The statement that Jim Hagerty said that you were going to put out." Well that seemed to confuse them. They didn't know anything about any such statement. They finally took me into see Walt Bonney, the Information Chief. He didn't know anything about it either. There was a lot of conferring and some more confusion...Other reporters arrived. Well, I finally left and I had the impression that there wouldn't be any statement. But at 1:30 p.m., Bonney did release a statement that attempted to answer the questions reporters had been asking him.

Stock
Bonney

BONNEY:

Now, if the pilot continued to suffer lack of oxygen, the path of the airplane, from the last reported position, would be impossible to determine.

SCHERER: (Partially O.S.)

Scherer

The Bonney statement went considerably beyond that of the State Department. For instance, there were details about the supposed U-2 flight plan, how many U-2s we had, where they were stationed, and so forth. The statement was so detailed that it raised almost as many questions as it answered.

For example, Bonney contended that the U-2 had taken off from Incirlik Air Base in Turkey at 8 a.m. local time. This was considerably later than the time announced in Khrushchev's speech, and reporters were quick to notice the discrepancy.

Dissolve to:

HUNTLEY:Studio
Huntley

One more incident occurred in Washington on that confusing May 5th which is worth noting. Late in the afternoon, a telegram was received from Ambassador Thompson, in Moscow, advising the State Department of the possibility that Powers might be alive. Despite this warning, on the following day we still seemed curiously unaware of the full potentialities of the situation.

Stock
President and
Roberts at
Exhibit

HUNTLEY (O.S.):

On the morning of Friday, May 6th, President Eisenhower attended a union industrial exhibit. Reporter Charles Roberts, of Newsweek Magazine, was there!

ROBERTS: (Partially O.S.)

On Friday, May 6th, I was standing just two feet from President Eisenhower when he gave his first public reaction to the U-2 incident. At a Union Industry Show in the Washington Armory, talking to George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, he remarked that he was going to give a hydrojet boat to Khrushchev on his trip to Russia. Then, he added the phrase, if I go. Up until then the White House had refused to comment on the U-2 incident or acknowledge in any way that it had disturbed our relations with the Soviet Union. After the show, around noon on Friday, Ike climbed into his helicopter, outside the armory, and flew to Gettysburg where, that afternoon, he played a round of golf. Some of us were surprised that he flew to Gettysburg in time of crisis - but the White House

Dissolve to:

Helicopter
leaves

Roberts
on golf course

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THE U-2 AFFAIR

ROBERTS: (continued)

has always insisted that with modern communications the President can run the government from his Gettysburg farmhouse as well as he can from the White House.

Dissolve to:

Stock
Herter's return

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Later that same afternoon, Secretary of State Herter returned from abroad. Despite the crisis, it would still be two days before he and the President were to see one another.

Dissolve to:

Lincoln White
Press Conference

And at the State Department, in his press conference that day, held in a setting similar to this, it was evident that Lincoln White had still not been advised to exercise caution. In response to questioning by reporters, he said, "It is ridiculous to say we are trying to kid the world about this."

Later, he added, "There was absolutely no...N-O...no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet air space and there has never been."

Dissolve to:

Stock
Khrushchev's
May 7 speech

HUNTLEY (O.S.):

Saturday morning, May 7th.....
.....for Nikita Khrushchev, a day of triumph.

KHRUSHCHEV - Audio

HUNTLEY (O.S.):

Khrushchev
waves photos

Once the applause of the Supreme Soviet quieted down, Khrushchev revealed a secret that he had been keeping almost a week. He displayed photographs, which he said were taken from the captured U-2, and announced that the pilot was alive and had confessed. Then he said, of the Americans, "When they learn that the pilot is alive, they will have to think of something else...and they will."

Headlines

TICKER EFFECT

HUNTLEY:

Khrushchev's announcement had blown our cover story to pieces. Newsweek correspondent, Charles Roberts, continues with

THE U-2 AFFAIR Approved For Release 2002/06/06 : CIA-RDP80B01676R004100180001-9

Charles Roberts

ROBERTS: (PARTIAL O.S.)

Early Saturday morning, May 7th, a number of reporters, including myself, came up to Gettysburg to cover late developments.

Stock
Gettysburg and
Press Conference

White House News Secretary James Hagerty had promised us a story that morning, and we thought it would relate in some way to the U-2. At nine thirty-six, while the President was out playing golf, we sat down with Hagerty at a make-shift press room at the Gettysburg hotel. To our astonishment, the story he promised concerned nuclear testing.

He announced that the United States was prepared to resume nuclear testing as soon as possible - as he put it. The tests were to be for the purpose of improving means of detecting underground blasts - a step towards policing a nuclear test ban. But we were still surprised that the government would put out an announcement, while it was under fire for aerial spying, that might be interpreted as a new cold war maneuver. Hagerty still refused to discuss the U-2 incident. He said he had informed the President of Khrushchev's latest

Roberts

speech, but that he would have no comment. Any reaction, he said, would have to come from the State Department. Meantime, Ike had been on the golf course since 9:05. He finished his round at 11:28 - score unreported. Then, he returned to the farmhouse, where he spent the remainder of the day. During that day, at the State Department in Washington, a crucial meeting was held to work out an answer to Khrushchev's latest speech. The President did not attend that meeting, but Hagerty informed us that Ike was in contact with Secretary of State Herter by phone during the day. Late in the afternoon, a statement was read to the President by phone - and he approved it without change. At six p.m. Lincoln White of the State Department read that statement to newsmen.

Stock
White Statement

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Only the previous day, Lincoln White had said, "There was absolutely no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet air space and there never has been." Now he was stating something different.

WHITE:

WHITE (CONT'D)

the President it has been established that insofar as the authorities in Washington are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flight as described by Mr. Khrushchev. Nevertheless it appears that in endeavoring to obtain information now concealed behind the iron curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane.

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

This one statement, agreed upon at a hastily convened meeting, represented a historic decision - our government was, in effect, admitting that we had previously lied, and that we had committed espionage - admissions no nation had ever made before.

Headlines

TICKER

Man on street
interviews

Q:

How will this incident affect the United States, do you think?

YOUTH

I feel that it will give the Americans a 'black eye' all over Europe.

MAN 1:

My feeling is that the country did the right thing in sending these planes over - or this plane over. Because we have to keep abreast of the Russians, as far as the information is concerned.

MAN 2:

I think that if we fly over Russian territory, we take the chance of being shot down because of engaging in espionage - the same as we would do to them if they flew over our territory.

MAN 3:

I think that we ought to sink one of those submarines that have been spying off Cape Canaveral.

WOMAN:

Well, I don't think we should admit it. Yes. Yes. Never mind what the pilot said. We have a right to protect ourselves.

41.

MAN 4:

Thinking it over, I think the State Department has really erred in the whole thing. They got a mix-up there.

They don't seem to be coordinated. The one doesn't know what the other is doing.

Q:

What do you think about it?

WOMAN 2:

Well, I can only say what we were told in Church yesterday. We should pray for that boy. He needs it.

Stock
Eisenhower
Press Conference

HUNTLEY (O.S.):

On Wednesday, May 11th, President Eisenhower answered the one major question that remained: who had authorized the flights?

MCU Eisenhower

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

Our deterrent must never be placed in

jeopardy. The safety of the whole free world demands this. As the Secretary of State pointed out in his recent statement, ever since the beginning of my Administration I have issued directives to gather, in every feasible way, the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for defense.

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

The President himself had assumed responsibility for authorizing the program of intelligence flights. We have learned that C.I.A. Director, Allen Dulles, had offered to serve as the traditional scapegoat and to resign. However, this is not the course the President chose. This avowal of responsibility by a head of state for intelligence activities was unprecedented in the history of international relations. It is a decision that has been the subject of considerable debate. Here are the views of the Chairman of the Senate Committee that investigated the U-2 Affair -- Senator William Fulbright -- and of the President's Press Secretary, James Hagerty.

Fulbright

Hagerty

HAGERTY (cont'd)

There is a great deal of puzzlement in my own mind of people that say why did the President or the government of the United States take responsibility. Well now this is something new that has been added to my world. If you gentlemen are spies, and I am not, and you get caught, I can say I never heard of you, or saw you before. But if you strap a U-2 to your back, it is a little difficult, to say the least, not to admit and assume responsibility.

Fulbright

FULBRIGHT

The President need never have avowed or disavowed is the point I make. He should have taken the position of silence in this matter and let the uh if anyone had to take responsibility, it should have been the head of the intelligence.

MCU Fulbright

Uh it should have to depend on circumstances as to who avowed or disavowed anything but it shouldn't have been the President who as I say embodies the whole sovereignty and dignity of the whole American people. I think personally this was perhaps the most serious fault in this whole operation, this whole incident.

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

Coupled with the President's assuming responsibility for the U-2 flights, was our attempt to justify our right to engage in them.

Hagerty

HAGERTY:

As the President himself at a press conference and in speeches said, when a closed society makes threats against our very welfare, it is up to us to find out everything we can about such a closed society, whether they are preparing for war, whether they are building up, and also the determination of the members of the government that there will never be another Pearl Harbor if they have anything to do about it.

Fulbright

Fulbright:

I think one of the most serious things to uh growing out of this, was our endeavor, on the part of our people, to justify uh this-these flights. Uh, to say you need something such as intelligence in international relations certainly is no justification for it.

But in the position the President took he was in fact asserting the right to

do this and not the need. They could understand the need. They understand that espionage goes on within certain areas all the time. But they never take full responsibility for it. The head of state does not. I think that it's responsible to believe that this avowal put Mr. Khrushchev in the position where he could not proceed to treat with the man who at the same time is asserting the right to violate the sovereignty of his country, in this case, the U.S.S.R.

Studio
 Huntley

HUNTLEY:

Following our avowal of the U-2 flights, one more significant question was raised during the week preceding the summit conference - the question of whether the flights would be continued. As the week began this became a source of apparently deliberate confusion.

Scherer

SCHERER:

On Monday morning May 9th, The New York Times carried a story saying, "It was learned that the President had ordered cessation of all flights over or near the borders of the U.S.S.R." Well,

SCH ERER (CONT'D)

News Conference, we asked him whether the flights had been cancelled. He said that the President had not cancelled the flights. When asked whether they had been cancelled by any order other than the President, Jim answered, "I know of no such orders." Well the impression we were left with was that despite the events of the last few days, the U-2 flights were still going on. This impression was reinforced by a statement of Secretary of State Herter, which was released by Lincoln White the same afternoon.

Studio
Huntley

HUNTLEY:

Although the administration had denied that it intended to imply that the flights would continue, this was the inference that was drawn by most observers. All these events led to an atmosphere of increasing tension as the summit conference approached.

EXHIBIT of U-2
wreckage, CU's
of equipment,
pistol, money
Power's boot

HUNTLEY: (O.S.)

In the Soviet Union, Khrushchev toured an exhibit that opened in Gorki Park. Here in a hall customarily devoted to the pasttime of chess, the Russians had put on display remnants of the plane,

its equipment, and the pilot's personal effects.

Stock
Khrushchev
Press Conference

Later, in an impromptu press conference, Khrushchev reacted violently to what he termed our threat to continue the flights. He cancelled his invitation to President Eisenhower for a visit to the Soviet Union that had been planned for the following month.

Stock
Senate Briefing

And in Washington, as Administration leaders explained their decision to Congress, the beginning of a major controversy, involving both this country and its allies, was already apparent.

Bowles

CHESTER BOWLES:

We have certainly lost ground. Major elements in our government have been caught telling blatant falsehoods to the world, to ourselves, to each other, and to Congressional committees. We have not told the truth. We have taken grave risks on the very eve of a great and important international conference. And we put the President in a position of not knowing who keeps score.

Goldwater

BARRY GOLDWATER:

We have nothing to gain by going to the summit. We have nothing to negotiate at the summit. And about all we can do is to add dignity to this last beastly act of the Soviets. And I hope the President decides not to go. How can you negotiate with murderers? How can you negotiate with people who have shot down numbers of our planes. How do you negotiate with people who tell lies and who do not fulfill their solemn obligations? I don't think you can gain anything by going to the summit with these type of people. I think we ought to realize, in this country, that we're in a cold war and we better be in this war to win it - and start acting like it.

Lester Pearson

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

The former Foreign Minister of Canada:

PEARSON:

It was pretty stupid, on the part of the United States, if I may say so, for getting its self in a position, before the summit conference, that the Soviets could exploit an incident of this kind.

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PEARSON: (cont'd)

In other words, I don't think they've handled the matter very well...As long as the cold war goes on, governments are going to collect intelligence, legally or illegally, and the Russians are at the forefront of that parade. But if you do this kind of thing - collect intelligence - you should do it intelligently.

HUNTLEY (O.S.):

Ike leaving for summit - helicopter lands, he gets out, walks to plane, takes off

On Saturday, May 14th, President Eisenhower left the White House by helicopter to board the plane that would take him to Paris. The trip that was to have been the capstone of his career was already foredoomed to a failure that he, least of all, would have wanted. As James Reston had written in The New York Times, "The tragedy of President Eisenhower in the spy-plane case is that he and his colleagues have created almost all the things he feared the most. He wanted to reduce international tensions and he has increased it. He wanted to strengthen the alliance and he has weakened it. He glorified teamwork and morality, and got lies and adminis-

trative chaos. Everything he was noted

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HUNTLEY (CONT'D)

for - caution, patience, leadership, military skill, and even good luck - suddenly eluded him precisely at the moment he needed them the most.

Ike at Orly
Airport

Elysee Palace

Khrushchev
leaving Elysee Palace

Khrushchev at press
conference of May 18th,
pounding table
and shouting

What happened after the President's arrival has become part of the folklore of history. The conference that was^{to be} held at the Elysee Palace was never formally convened. After bitterly attacking the President of the United States, Premier Khrushchev stalked out of the first preliminary meeting. And before returning to Moscow...

...he began what has since become an all too familiar pattern of public performances.

KHRUSHCHEV AUDIO:

HUNTLEY (O.S.)

Stock
Russian Demonstrations

The Russians now exploited to the fullest the propaganda advantage we had given them with the U-2. Whether the incident was chiefly responsible for the summit failure is still being debated: but it did provide ammunition for the Russians as they intensified cold war pressures throughout the world. Fear of Russian

British anti-
bases demonstrations

rockets in the months of 1960

HUNTLEY (CONT'D)

summit made American bases the object of an increasing number of protest demonstrations.

Japanese
demonstrations

SOUND EFFECTS

The United States found itself embarrassing on the defensive - and in the riots against the Japanese-American Security Treaty, even high United States officials were caught in the storm.

SOUND EFFECT

Hagerty Interview

SCHERER:

Jim, by way of taking a longer look at this whole U-2 incident, now that the dust has settled somewhat, how do you think the United States came out of it?

HAGERTY:

Well, I think they came out very well. I think that basically the argument of an open society versus a closed society has been very well brought to the fore, has been brought to the attention of the peoples of the world. I think that is an overseas reaction. I think domestically the reaction of the American people quite frankly was "It was too bad we got caught, but we are glad we were doing it." That is the way I would sum it up.

BOURGHOLTZER:

Do you, looking back, think that if you had it to do over again, you might have done anything in some different fashion?

HAGERTY:

No, with the exception that I think everybody admits, of the failure of the cover story. But outside of that, no.

SCHERER:

As you look back on this U-2 incident, who was in charge of our side of the thing as it developed - issuing of statements, coordination of policy, the whole aspect?

HAGERTY:

Well, I just can't answer that, Ray, I am sorry.

SCHERER:

Having had this experience, and now speaking with the benefit of hindsight, what lessons emerged from this for the future?

HAGERTY:

Don't get caught.

HUNTLEY:

At the hearings held by the Fulbright Committee, the Secretary of State, Mr.

Studio
Huntley

be learned from the U-2 affair. His answer was "Not to have accidents." We leave it to the American public to decide whether "Don't get caught" and "Not to have accidents" are the only lessons to be learned from U-2.

What you have seen in the past hour is an attempt at a historical evaluation of a most controversial subject, including opposing viewpoints on the matter. Over thirty responsible reporters who covered this story as it unfolded contributed to this effort. There are certain conclusions that may reasonably be drawn from the facts examined in this report.

1. The cover story was inadequate to its mission. It was hastily released, excessive in detail and failed to take account of the possibility that Powers might be alive.
2. As the U-2 crisis developed, there was a serious lack of coordination among the governmental agencies involved, which resulted in conflicting and damaging statements to the world.

3. By avowing the intelligence flights, an act unprecedented in the history of nations, our government suffered the consequences of having been caught in public misstatements.

4. Nobody expects the United States, or any other nation to stop intelligence activities, but by justifying the U-2 flights and implying they would continue, we materially affected the Summit Conference. If Khrushchev intended to wreck the conference beforehand, we gave him a ready made excuse. If he intended to negotiate, we made it difficult for him to do so.

5. Throughout the whole U-2 affair, we suffered from the fact that there was apparently no one official or agency to direct our total response to this crisis.

This is not a matter for the history books, but vitally affects our ability to survive as a nation. There will be other crises that the new administration, and succeeding administrations, will have to face. In the world as it is today, we cannot afford another U-2

MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

ER-File
F.Y.I., attached is the transcript of the NBC
"U-2 Affair" of 29 November 1960. Copy was fur-
nished to [] before 9 AM today,
1 December 1960.

[]
STANLEY J. GREGAN
Assistant to the Director

DEC 1 1960

(DATE)

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